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POSTAL RATE AND FEE CHANGES, 1997	:	Docket No. R97-1

DIRECT TESTIMONY OF
KEN C. ERICKSON
ON BEHALF OF
GREETING CARD ASSOCIATION

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Executive Summary

My testimony is an analysis of the cultural significance of greeting cards that are sent through the mail in the United States. As an anthropologist, I show how greeting cards are a part of American culture. I present my prior anthropological research among greeting card shoppers and provide an analysis of new survey research about the cultural significance of greeting cards.

After presenting my qualifications, this testimony provides a short historical introduction to greeting cards and their link to the mail system in section II.A. Then, the anthropological concepts of culture, national culture, and cultural value are introduced in sections II.B through II.D. The importance of the "imagined community" to national culture is discussed—that is, how in communities too large for face-to-face relationships printed matter such as greeting cards help create a sense of shared national experience. In section II.E, this cultural perspective is used to show how greeting cards possess cultural—not just economic—value.

In section III, the concepts of material culture and exchange are presented to underscore the ways in which material cultural always carries cultural significance—meaning—in exchanges between senders and receivers.

Sections IV.A through IV.D describe prior ethnographic research in which I conducted participant observation and interviews with greeting card shoppers. This research provided initial insights about the cultural importance of greeting cards to American individuals and groups. It demonstrated the "cultural life" of greeting cards in interpersonal relationships, in shared religious and secular rituals, and in communication that transcends the limitations of the spoken word.

The insights gained from the prior research were employed in the construction of a national telephone survey, described in sections V.A through

V.D. The survey was designed to tap the perspectives of greeting card recipients on the cultural significance of greeting cards sent through the mail. Respondents were asked to rank their level of agreement with thirteen statements about greeting cards. The results point out the cultural importance of greeting cards sent through the mail in times of illness and mourning and point to the role of greeting cards in establishing and displaying shared meanings by "sharing a good laugh." The survey verifies the extent to which Americans agree that greeting cards help them celebrate holidays and special occasions—important cultural features in any society. It shows that senders expect their cards to be displayed for others to see. The survey also suggests important differences across age, ethnic, and income groups.

The conclusions to this testimony, in sections VI. A through VI.D, state that greeting cards sent through the mail bind the nation together by linking families, friends and others. I end my testimony with some observations on the ethnic and income differences that emerged from the survey data and how those differences point to differential effects of postal rate changes that would make it more costly to exchange greeting cards through the mail.

Statement of Qualifications of Ken Cleland Erickson

My name is Ken C. Erickson. I am a Research Associate Professor of Anthropology in the Department of Sociology at the University of Missouri-Kansas City. My curriculum vitae is attached as Exh. GSA-1.

I have conducted nearly all of my research and applied practice on cultural issues in the United States. Presently, I work as an academic applied anthropologist, but I worked for a number of years in Kansas state government as an anthropological practitioner in refugee resettlement and in education. My work with refugees in Southwest Kansas evolved into a collaborative anthropological research project, funded by the Ford Foundation, through which a team of researchers conducted a two year ethnographic study in Garden City, Kansas. The study was part of a larger study of accommodation and accord among new immigrants and established U.S. residents in five U.S. cities. The project sought to understand the process of "becoming an American" in a variety of U.S. contexts. This experience is part of my background to understanding the cultural significance of greeting cards in the United States.

I have worked as an archaeological researcher in Wyoming and Idaho, and have produced published and unpublished papers on historical archaeology, Wyoming mining communities, and cowboy culture. My doctoral dissertation resulted from an ethnographic study of a High Plains boxed-beef factory, a place where several immigrant cultures came into contact with both shop-floor industrial and midwestern American cultures. As an equity coordinator and bilingual education program consultant for the Kansas State Department of Education, I worked with ethnic minority students and parents, and the schools that served them. As a senior research associate with LTG, Inc., of Takoma Park, Maryland and Turlock,

California, I conducted program evaluations of health programs in the West and Midwest, and researched multilingual access to U.S. public health services.

My most recent professional publications focus on Southeast Asian refugee resettlement and adjustment to the United States, anthropology and radio broadcasting, and changing industrial culture in meatpacking. I recently have published a monograph on team ethnographic research. I have a publication in preparation for Princeton University Press on a multicultural meatpacking plant. I teach research methodology courses in sociology for the University of Missouri-Kansas City. As a research professor, I am charged with the task of developing new applied research in the Kansas City region. My present work in the Kansas City region includes evaluating housing programs for HIV+ persons and persons living with AIDS, directing a research project on HIV and new immigrants to western Kansas, completing an evaluation of public housing residents' needs, and providing technical assistance on ethnographic research methods for Hallmark Cards, Inc.

I presently am the Treasurer of the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology, the section of the American Anthropological Association that represents applied researchers within and outside the academy. I am a Fellow of the American Anthropological Association, a member of the Society for Linguistic Anthropology and the Council on Anthropology and Education, and an editorial board member of the Journal of the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology. I have been funded as a co-principal investigator by the Ford Foundation and as a research associate for program evaluation by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. I have been a guest lecturer at the Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies at Princeton University, Duke University, San Jose State University,

and Kansas State University. I have served as a grant reader for the U.S. Department of Education and as a keynote speaker on issues of U.S. multiculturalism for professional organizations in the Midwest.

I. Purpose and Scope of Testimony

My testimony is given on behalf of the Greeting Card Association. In my testimony, I discuss the significance of greeting cards in American culture from the perspective of cultural anthropology. I will introduce some of the definitions and theory of contemporary cultural anthropology. To begin the discussion, I will explain what, as an anthropologist, I mean when I refer to American culture. I will explain that culture has a material aspect and that communication through the exchange of material cultural objects plays important cultural roles. I will explain how greeting cards and their exchange through the mails are a part of the American material culture fostering and maintaining familial and other cultural relationships. Against this background, I shall describe my anthropological research on greeting cards.

When a nation's mail system begins to be used for other than official or governmental messages, mail can be among the resources used to reflect, reproduce, and even change aspects of national culture. This is equally true of the American postal system. In other words, messages moving through the mail as greeting cards can have an identifiable cultural value far beyond the institutional context of officialdom.

II. Cultural Significance and Greeting Cards

A. Brief History: Greeting cards have long played a role in American culture and are closely linked to the mail system.

Greeting cards have been around for a long time, perhaps even longer than mass-production printing.[1] Historians of popular art place the origins of the greeting card in Great Britain in the middle of the last century, though it seems likely that other industrializing countries included stationers and printers who also made and sold greeting cards at about the same time.[2] Greeting cards have had a close connection with certain aspects of national political and social structure. Their existence may be tied to the development of international postal agreements. The first global postal convention, signed in Austria in 1869, approved the use of the 123mm by 83mm open-faced postal card that we know today, but it was limited to 20 words of message text. This seems to have enhanced the use of the post beyond its official and *governmental uses.*[3]

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[1] Kombolin, Yuri Pozdravitelnaia Otkrytka v Rossii: Konets XIX Veka-nachalo XX Veka. The Greeting Card in Russia: End of the 19th Century--Beginning of the 20th Century. [Russian and English] Kiesa Malen, trans. Skant-Petersburg: Trade House Konstantin (1994) Page 14; Ernest Dudley Chase, in The Romance of Greeting Cards Dedham, MA: Rust Craft Publishers (1956), identifies woodcut greeting cards from the mid-1400s in the Rhine Valley as among precursors of the present-day greeting card. [Reprinted by the National Association of Greeting Card Publishers in Sentimental Communication, no date]

[2] Buday, Gyorgy The History of the Christmas Card. London: Rockliff, (1954). Fink, Joanne Greeting Card Design. New York: Graphic Details (1994).

[3] Kombolin, ibid.

Yuri Kombolin has noted the rapid and dramatic increase in the use of postal cards intended as a form of interpersonal communication after the admission of these cards to the mailstream of the past century. Even before the postal agreement of 1869, greeting cards were mass-produced for domestic use in England as early as 1843.[4] In Britain, Gleeson White was able to write in 1895 that "a complete set of all designs published in England alone would include at least 200,000 examples."[5] Greeting cards, it appears, are and for many years have been a part of the English popular culture that is so closely linked to our own. While a more detailed historical study of the role of greeting cards would be interesting, my purpose here is to introduce some of the definitions and the theory of contemporary cultural anthropology and show how they apply in evaluating the here-and-now cultural role of greeting cards.

B. THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE IN ANTHROPOLOGY: CULTURE, MATERIAL CULTURE, AND NATIONAL CULTURE ARE TERMS THAT HELP MAKE SENSE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF GREETING CARDS

Understanding the role of greeting cards in American culture calls for an understanding of the ways in which anthropologists use concepts like culture, material culture, and national culture. American culture is a kind of national culture, and no member of a national culture directly interacts with everyone or everything else in that culture. Despite distance and the lack of face-to-face relationships among all members of a national culture, shared national culture exists. Benedict Anderson has synthesized and expanded

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[4] Budday ibid..Page 3.

[5] White, Gleeson Christmas Cards and Their Chief Designers. London: Offices of the Studio, (1895).

on this view of national culture. He points out that national cultures are "imagined communities," communities whose existence are dependent upon a technological means of distributing shared images of belonging.[6] Large national communities, unlike smaller face-to-face communities, are imaginary things because they can not be experienced quite as directly. For Anderson, the invention and use of the printing press fostered a sense of national belonging. As part of the printed representations of cultural traditions, greeting cards hold considerable—and as yet untapped—potential as data for the study of how America's "imagined community" is portrayed, shared, and reshaped by people over time.

Greeting cards are printed examples of popular art and writing—art and writing designed for the marketplace. They appear in the marketplace in most, if not all, of the world's market economies. As they move from production to buyer to recipient, their importance and meaning shifts. Their economic value in the marketplace is transformed into cultural value, just as anthropologists have shown for other items of exchange in other cultures.[7] The ways in which terms like "culture" and "cultural value" are used by anthropologists is explored here to clarify this anthropological perspective on greeting cards in American culture

C. CULTURE: MORE THAN "HIGH CULTURE," THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL VIEW OF CULTURE INCLUDES MATERIAL, BEHAVIORAL AND SYMBOLIC ELEMENTS.

In the nineteenth century, the Englishman E. B. Tylor popularized a term still used by anthropologists—"culture." According to Tylor, culture is

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[6] Anderson, Benedict R. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso (1983).

[7] Appadurai, Arjun. The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective. New York: Cambridge University Press (1986).

"that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."[8] While other anthropologists have clarified and extended the idea, Tylor's definition still remains central to anthropology.[9]

Culture is an explanatory tool that distinguishes flesh-and-blood elements of human life from the non-biological stuff. It includes the meanings, learning, values, music, ritual, manners, taste, religion, art. . .the list is potentially endless because culture, in both material and expressive forms, is both created and creative. Yet, culture has historical depth, transcending individual human lives. Culture includes both the so-called rational economic choices people make, based on dollars and cents, and the too-often overlooked cultural choices that people make based on cultural values (which are not quite the same as economic value, as discussed below). Cultural regularities are patterns which are more or less shared by individuals within a culture.[10]

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[8] E. B. Tylor, Primitive Culture, New York: Harper (1874) Page 1.

[9] An example of the extension of Tylor's views may be found in Alfred Louis Kroeber's "The Concept of Culture in Science" in The Nature of Culture. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (1952) Page 118 ff. See also George W. Stocking's After Tylor: British Social Anthropology, 1888-1951. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press (1951).

[10] Clyde Kluckhohn's Culture and Behavior. Edited by Richard Kluckhohn, New York: Free Press of Glencoe (1962) provides an American account of the culture concept in both "traditional" and Western societies. Just what "counts" as legitimate cultural content at a particular time in a particular social group may be a subject of discussion or even conflict, conflict which is itself creative of new cultural forms. See for example Sherry Ortner, Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory.

Anthropologists engage in continual discussion about the particular nature and extent of cultural patterns. There also is continual scholarly debate about where in space, when in time, and to what extent individuals share patterns of culture. Despite these debates, there is agreement that shared understandings of cultural elements are critical in human interaction. Among members of what we generally refer to as particular cultures, there is often disagreement about the contents and meaning of shared culture, but as long as the material and social products of culture are circulating among a group of people, cultural elements are shared among a culture's individual members to some extent.

What individuals include and exclude varies according to the cultural context that surrounds any set of behaviors. In other words, people can and sometimes do rearrange the patterns of culture to fit new circumstances. Anthropologists have written that humans are both the marks and the shills of culture. People respond to the constraints and opportunities that culture presents them and they also create new constraints and opportunities. Alfred Louis Kroeber called this culture's "causal circularity."[11] Culture's influence on people is not one way, but it is patterned. With this in mind, it does not make sense to talk about how American culture "causes" greeting card exchange any more than it makes sense to say that greeting card exchange causes American culture in the linear sense. But it does make sense to explore how the availability and use of cards creates possibilities for existing cultural connections and lays the foundation for new ones.

Edited by S. Ortner, N. Dirks, and G. Eley. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press (1994).

[11] Kroeber, ibid. Page 132.

D. American Culture: While a mixture, American culture contains shared patterns

When the term "American culture" is used here, it refers to the United States. American culture, like all others, is a mixture of many cultural influences. Ralph Linton's famous essay, "One Hundred Per Cent American," made this point in the *American Mercury* in 1937.[12] Nevertheless, the American cultural mixture has a common core. The common cultural core of a complex society like the United States would have been said by pre-war anthropologists to represent its "ethos."[13] Today, anthropological attention to national culture can be found in discussions of "cultural values" or "languaculture."[14] The primacy of any of these anthropological concepts as explanatory tools is subject to debate, but the existence of common national cultural patterns that are widely shared is not a matter of dispute. These concepts—cultural values, world view, and languaculture—point to underlying cultural regularities in the ways in which culture is shared in complex societies like the U.S. There is diversity in that sharing to be sure, but there are patterns just as surely. In American culture, greeting cards and their exchange connect in patterned ways with cultural values, languaculture, and world view. Exploratory ethnographic research, supported by a national survey, demonstrates how they do.

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[12] Linton, Ralph. "One Hundred Per-Cent American," *The American Mercury*, vol. 40 (1937). Pages 427-429.

[13] For example, Benedict, Ruth. Patterns of Culture. New York: Houghton Mifflin (1934).

[14] Gillin, John P. "Cultural Values in the United States" in Human Ways: Selected Essays in Anthropology. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press (1969); Agar, Michael Language Shock: Understanding the Culture of Communication. New York: William Morrow (1994).

E. CULTURAL VALUE: GREETING CARDS, LIKE OTHER ITEMS OF MATERIAL CULTURE INVOLVED IN GIFT EXCHANGE, POSSESS VALUE BEYOND THEIR ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE

One way of expressing the connectedness of greeting cards to other aspects of American culture is to refer to their cultural value. This notion of value does not replace the view of value in classical economics, the view that surrounds notions of *homo economicus.* That view assumes that human choices can best be measured and studied in terms of their financial costs and benefits. But anthropologists—and many institutional economists—argue that while costs and benefits are part of the picture, additional factors need to be considered.[15] The factors that are missing from a classical economic analysis are the cultural factors. The cultural factors point to discussions about the question: "Where does value come from?" It does not assume that value comes only from scarcity. Not everything in a culture is bought or sold. Some things that are not bought or sold are valueless—others are so valuable that they are beyond price.

This anthropological view of value is used in this analysis of the cultural significance of greeting cards. It involves a definition of "value" that is different from the one commonly found in classical economics textbooks. The economic definition tends to make value depend, ultimately, on scarcity;

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[15] "The primary focus of institutional economics is on the evolution of institutional processes of providing the material means of life. Early twentieth-century founders of institutional thought include Thorstein B. Veblen and John R. Commons, followed by Wesley C. Mitchell and Walton H. Hamilton. These scholars laid initial groundwork for analytically relevant and empirically grounded inquiry in political economy." Journal of Economic Issues Website (http://economics.csusb.edu/orgs/JEI/) (1997).

the less there is of some economic good, the higher the value of each unit of that good. In a market model like this, value is reflected in price.

The anthropological view does not depend in this way on scarcity. For example, a religious or national symbol may have a very great value to a society, yet be widely available, widely distributed, and even freely given. In other words, some parts of culture need not be economic goods. The anthropological approach holds that values—in the broad sense—are not determined solely by scarcity (that is, by supply), but that the value of a card is a function of the complex interaction of culturally imposed values within a system that makes the card an element in economic transactions. These culturally imposed values can include the relationship with the sender(s) or recipient(s), the occasion for sending or receiving the card, and the pictorial and textual content of the card—none of which are solely dependent upon the number of cards available in the marketplace or the quantity of resources used to transport and deliver them.

It is true that economic factors can affect the availability of a culturally valuable object—whether an object that moves through a cultural system as a gift or as a commodity—and in that sense cultural value may reflect or respond to monetary costs and benefits. If something of cultural value—say, cranberry sauce used during parts of the ritual cycle in American culture—should come to cost more than anyone could ever afford, it may cease to be part of the cultural repertoire surrounding a traditional event. In that case, however, the loss of value would not be canceled out simply by showing that the resources formerly spent on cranberry sauce are now being spent on some other useful or "valuable" thing. What is at issue here, however, is not whether some object has cultural value—a question that is independent of

the scarcity of the object—but whether society will be able to keep on enjoying and using that culturally valuable object.

In the case of greeting cards, cultural value may be more complex than for most cultural commodities. Greeting cards are part of gift exchanges: a favorite topic for anthropologists.[16] They are a commodity that is tied up with relationships and the expression—or display—of the nature of those relationships. So unlike cranberry sauce, they hold their value as individual and unique expressions long after their exchange on some ritual or other occasion. This gives them a greater cultural importance than other elements of material culture. Greeting cards have special cultural value.

To summarize then, the theory that surrounds culture includes the idea that: (1) culture changes in patterned and understandable, if not always predictable, ways; (2) culture may not be shared equally by individuals in a society; and (3) cultural value must be considered along with economic value. An additional point, discussed briefly below, is that research methods best adapted to the study of culture are context-sensitive and designed to tap cultural features in cultural context.

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[16] See, for example, the classic ethnography by Bronislaw Malinowski, Argonauts of the Western Pacific, London: Routledge & Sons (1922), for an account of a complex exchange system, the Kula ring, that operates among a set of islands west of New Guinea. The same system was explored more recently by Nancy D. Munn in The Fame of Gawa : A Symbolic Study of Value Transformation In A Massim (Papua New Guinea) Society, New York : Cambridge University Press, (1986). Both draw on early formulations of the cultural significance of gifts published by Marcel Mauss at the beginning of this century, in *Essai Sur le Don*, The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies, New York: Norton (1967).

Anthropologists generally consider ethnography, with its emphasis on participant observation, to be a key element in the anthropological approach and among the discipline's major contributions to the social sciences.[17] Both the ethnographic method and the concept of culture are important to understand an anthropological view of the cultural significance of greeting cards as cultural products that participate actively in the social system. Ethnography is an eclectic blend of social science methods that always includes some up-close participant observation. The goal of ethnography, simply stated, is to obtain the "native point of view" so as to understand culture from the inside. My own exploratory work on greeting cards in American culture has been conducted within this theoretical and methodological tradition, and in the specific context of anthropology's long-standing fascination with gifts and exchange systems.

III. Material Culture and Exchange

Culture has material manifestations. It uses material objects, and it may be shaped by them just as it is shaped through non-material events such as spoken words or performances. Material things become cultural things when they are used by people for cultural purposes. Anthropological studies of cultures around the world suggest that practically any "thing" can become a cultural thing, or what anthropologists call "material culture." Seeing the cultural aspects of material things helps specify how cultural things have meaning in particular cultures, and how the value of material culture changes as it moves about in market systems or in gift exchanges.[18]

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[17] Agar, Michael The Professional Stranger (2nd Edition)(Orlando, FL: Academic Press. (1996) provides a key introductory text to ethnographic methods.

Material culture is symbolically dense—but the multiple and at times puzzling meanings attached to material culture can be understood with reference to a particular cultural context. While the meanings of material things are potentially limitless, cultures do not take advantage of all such meanings. In fact, this picking and choosing is present in many cultural domains. In language, for example, the range of sounds a human can produce approaches infinity, at least in theory, yet humans only make use of a limited set of possible sounds.[19] So it is with the meanings associated with material culture. There are boundaries, regularities, and patterns in the meanings that are attached to gifts and other material media of exchange. In particular, there are patterns in the way greeting cards fit with aspects of American culture. Specifying just what some of those are at this moment in the American cultural trajectory is the task at hand.

IV. Exploratory Research on Greeting Cards and American Culture

I conducted ethnographic research among card shoppers in the Midwest in 1997. With the help of a team that included a graduate student from the University of Missouri-Kansas City and some researchers from Hallmark Cards, Inc., we designed a participant observation and interview study with shoppers in a greeting card store. We shopped along with customers, asked them about the cards they examined and selected, and interviewed them about their experience afterward. Our aims were among the traditional ethnographic goals: to tap the "native" point of view about some aspect of culture. In this case, the "natives" were Americans and the

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[18] Marcel Mauss, ibid..

[19] Jakobson, Roman. On Language. Edited by L. Waugh and Monique Monville-Burson. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press (1990).

topic of interest was greeting cards. About half of the shoppers were pre-selected and about half of them were intercepted" when they came into the store to buy a card. We found them all quite willing to talk with us while they shopped. In two days, we shopped for and talked about sixty-four greeting cards with nineteen people.[20]

Our research provided us with a set of preliminary insights about the ways greeting cards are used and how they relate to American culture. Among the key findings were: (1) that greeting cards, in their selection and use, have a cultural life of their own that is linked to American cultural values;[21] (2) that greeting cards play a role in the celebration of American family rituals, and are therefore linked to American world view; and (3) that cards are linked to American languaculture—they facilitate special kinds of communication, often beyond the "me-to-you" communication that is ordinarily thought to be the reason for card sending. All three are discussed briefly below. These earlier findings, along with a general understanding of the place of symbolically important material things in any culture, helped me to generate a set of survey questions that were used to sample a broader, more diverse group of Americans (see below) to clarify the cultural significance of greeting cards in American culture. (Linking ethnographic

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[20] The research sought general insights into the card-shopping process, but like much exploratory ethnography, we were forced to take notice of a still wider context: we came to learn about the complex roles played by cards in relationships. The research was not designed for this testimony, but the insights from the research are relevant here.

[21] By the cultural life of greeting cards I mean the way cards play a role in social relationships.

research with more focused survey work is a common feature in anthropological inquiry).[22]

A. THE CULTURAL LIFE OF GREETING CARDS: THOUGH THEY ARE MATERIAL THINGS, GREETING CARDS ACT OUT CULTURAL ROLES IN AMERICAN RELATIONSHIPS

We found that greeting cards have a cultural life of their own. They act on people when at the point of purchase, and they act on relationships when they are exchanged. While shoppers are selecting greeting cards with a friend—or a researcher—they talk about how the cards do or do not fit the relationship in which the card will play a part. During this process, shoppers talk freely about the relationship they have with the person (or persons) that card is for.[23] Greeting cards in this way seem to act like formal projective tests in psychological research. Shopping for them becomes an occasion for talking about relationships. This is the first element of the cultural life of *greeting cards. Greeting cards provide a window into American* relationships—and relationships are a key part of what American (or any other) culture is all about.

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[22] Bernard, H. Russel. Research Methods in Anthropology. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage (1994).

[23] Some greeting cards are designed and labeled to be given by people to pets. Of particular interest here are the cards sent to another person's pet, which reflect the value senders place on their relationship with recipients, and their understanding of recipients' relations with the significant beings, human and non-human, in their circle. (Cards sent to Santa Claus are another example.) It appears likely that cards sent to someone else's pet are likelier to go by mail, and are also relevant for that reason. This underscores the fact that the cultural importance of cards in American culture hinges on human relationships in general.

This aspect of the cultural life of greeting cards had methodological significance for our research. The ability of shoppers talk about the relationships they have with the people for whom the cards were intended was a great help in establishing rapport while shopping. This is important because ethnographic research depends on a genuine, honest, and overt presence by a researcher who is herself or himself the primary data collection tool. (In other kinds of research, data collection tools may be non-human—i.e., survey instruments or metering devices.) This setting provided rich data about greeting cards and the relationships in which they do their cultural work. The flow of talk about relationships, in the context of card shopping, highlighted an anthropological axiom: gifts are more than things.[24] Cards, from the perspectives of their users, embody as well as mediate social relationships. They communicate meanings and intentions about relationships and, in so doing, they signal their cultural value. This is another aspect of the cultural life of greeting cards. Greeting cards are a way to signal (and sometimes reshape) the cultural value attached to relationships over time.

For example, we found that some greeting cards are put out on display after they are received. This makes their content available for view and comment by other friends and family members. This possibility was taken into account and talked about by people who bought cards. They sometimes bought cards "more carefully," they said, because they knew that their cards would not just be viewed and decoded by the recipient alone. They knew that others would take part in interpreting (or misinterpreting) the meaning of the card they sent. So choices about the card's "look" and the card's

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[24] Marcel Mauss, ibid.

"content"—Would it be funny or serious? Would it have a rhyme or would it have a simple greeting?—were made against complex social webs of relationships.

Even when the cards were expected to be seen and appreciated by only one person, that relationship also was more complex than that simply marked by the momentary receipt of the card. The card had to match the present state of the relationship with reference to past relationships, relationships that are shaped by the presence (or absence) of other people. A card for a family member with whom you have had a warm and affectionate relationship in the past but do not have such a close relationship now is different from a card for someone with a different interpersonal connection with you. Cards tap both the past and the present and may tap an imagined or desired future state of a relationship.

Relationships among family and friends in American culture are different from similar kinds of relationships in other national cultures. Greeting card content and appearance has to "match" complex and often intimate relationships in culturally determined ways. For the present, it is enough to state that there is a patterned relationship between cards and American cultural patterns of friendship and family.[25]

Greeting cards play out part of their cultural role as representatives of relationships. While they are sometimes given in person, they are more often received in the mail. They can act as bridges that cross time, physical space,

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[25] On the culture of American families, see Schneider, David M. American Kinship: A Cultural Account. Chicago: University of Chicago Press [2nd Ed.] (1980) and Coontz, Stephanie. The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap. New York: Basic Books (1992).

and social space. Not being there in person for a special occasion—a celebration, an illness, a death—can, of course, be the result of more than physical distance. Modern transportation has made the globe physically accessible, but our culture keeps us busy. Time and resources often limit our ability to be there in person. And for many relationships, especially those laden with ambivalence or some socially difficult dimension, being there in person may not be the best idea. Cards can establish closeness and they also can mark respectful distance. They are ready-made for doing their work in relationships that are geographically dispersed, or challenged to find time for face-to-face communication, or seeking respectful distance.

Greeting cards, then, have a public cultural life outside their physical creation by greeting-card companies. The life course of greeting cards includes people shopping for them and reflecting on how the cards "fit" the cultural values surrounding the relationships in which the card participates. The card's cultural trajectory—and the meaning it bears—shifts again when it is exchanged. Cards stand for relationships and they are social actors—mediators—in those relationships. We know this to be true because of the ways shoppers talk about the decisions they make about cards. They evaluate the artistic content of the card for its relationship to the shopper's understanding of the taste, the likes, the dislikes, and the personality of the recipient. The history of the relationship enters in, as cards are not only bought to reflect the recipients favorite colors or artistic tastes, but to reflect the experiences that the purchaser and recipient share. The same is true for the words on the cards.

When a greeting card is received, it represents and acts on the relationship, standing as we all do (and as the old hymn says), "between memory and hope," marking the past and containing the potential for a future

relationship. American greeting card senders and recipients share relationships that are affected by the presence (or absence) of the card and by the recipient's and the sender's ability to invest it with deep cultural meaning.

B. GREETING CARDS AND AMERICAN RITUAL: GREETING CARDS ARE TIED TO THE AMERICAN RITUAL CALENDAR, WHICH HIGHLIGHTS THEIR CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE.

Greeting cards are part of American cultural rituals. Calendrical rituals—rituals that occur on a regular schedule through the year—appear in all human cultures. Everyone on the globe celebrates the passage of the seasons (though not everyone identifies four of them as American culture does). These changes are usually tied to cosmological or religious beliefs and as such are closely linked to officially sanctioned views about the nature of the world and humanity's place in it. For example, the Passover Seder is more than a family gathering, it is a religious observance. A Vietnamese-American *Têt* celebration is more than a new year's party. It is an occasion for reading aloud the year's troubles and future hopes which are then offered up as burnt offerings to the supernatural. In my own ethnographic work among Vietnamese immigrants, I have observed (and been a participant in) greeting card exchanges through the mail that mark graduation, marriage, Têt, and death.[26]

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[26] See the film, America Becoming, produced by Dai Sil Kim-Gibson for the Ford Foundation's Changing Relations Project, which aired on PBS in 1993. The film contains a sequence about a death among Kansas Vietnamese friends, and documents the exchanges that took place before the funeral.

Greeting cards flow among American families and individuals at these ritual times. In fact, according to some art historians, the first greeting cards (in Great Britain at least) were Christmas cards.[27]

American cultural traditions—both religious and secular—are marked by the receipt of greeting cards. As any introductory text in anthropology demonstrates, ritual and religion are closely tied to basic cultural assumptions about the nature of the world and the place of humans in it—in anthropological terms, a culture's world view. While not everyone participates in all of the possible religious or secular traditions in American rituals, card giving penetrates many dimensions of American culture.

C. GREETING CARDS COMMUNICATE: THE COMMUNICATIVE FUNCTION OF GREETING CARDS INCLUDES MARKING OR ACTIVATING RELATIONSHIPS; THEY COMMUNICATE WHEN THE SPOKEN WORK CANNOT.

Greeting cards communicate things that sometimes cannot be communicated face-to-face. When they flow through the mail, they bridge distance. Indeed, the Greeting Card Association estimates that between 60 and 70 percent of all greeting cards—approximately 4.5 to 5 billion—are sent through the mail every year.[28] Greeting cards also facilitate communication in at least one other way: they help people do things with written words that spoken words alone can not accomplish. In this way, anthropologists say that greeting cards facilitate ritual speech. What counts as ritual speech is part of the blend of language and culture that Mike Agar calls

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[27] White, Gleeson Christmas Cards and Their Chief Designers. London: Offices of the Studio (1895).

[28] McDermott, Marianne, personal communication October 28, 1997. Author's notes, University of Missouri-Kansas City.

"languaculture."[29] Ritual speech can be supplemented, highlighted, or facilitated by the written form and by graphic images in any culture. This kind of ritual communication in speech and in graphics is well studied in anthropology.

In all cultures, some kinds of things are difficult to express with the spoken word. What those things or experiences are vary from culture to culture, yet all cultures have special language that "does things." Language sometimes does things that can not be done with ordinary speech or with speech alone.[30] *Linguists call language that "does things," rather than* merely stating propositions, speech acts.[31] Cards combine graphics with words to enable them to "do things" in the social world.

For example, in a different cultural setting, the Walbiri people, among the original inhabitants of Australia, use graphic images—icons—to recount recent and mythical events.[32] Walbiri graphic design, their "iconic repertoire," serve as memory aides and a means to instruct, entertain, or enlighten other Walbiri people. In our own national culture, anthropological linguists have pointed out that the American English lexicon is relatively

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[29] Agar, ibid.

[30] See especially Malinowski (ibid.) and Malinowski's essay in Ogden and Richards The Meaning of Meaning: A Study of the Influences of Language Upon Thought and of the Science of Symbolism. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World (1946)

[31] See Austin, John L. How To Do Things With Words. Cambridge: Harvard University Press (1962); also Hymes, Dell and J. Gumperz Directions in Sociolinguistcs: The Ethnography of Communication. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston (1972)

[32] Munn, Nancy. Walbiri Iconography: Graphic Representation and Cultural Symbolism in a Central Australian Society. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press (1973).

impoverished in its ability to express a compliment. Others have noted how difficult it is for some members of American culture to apologize or express grief.[33] So, instead of "just saying it," American people use the written form. A glance at the bookshelf in any bookstore will reveal volumes that contain prefabricated toasts, jokes, and quotes for ready use by Americans who are challenged to come up with just the right words to say. Cards provide a ready and culturally appropriate means to supplement and enhance ritual messages—a kind of American iconic repertoire.

The language on greeting cards, and the cards themselves, are like prayers because when they are used, they exhibit special language. Special images often accompany prayer. The "specialness" of the words and images, and their context of use, give them social efficacy. Cards are a special medium of communication that allow people in American culture to do things with words and images that they cannot do in person or on the telephone.

D. OTHER CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE: IF CULTURES ARE FLUID BUT STRUCTURED SYSTEMS OF MEANING, THEN THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GREETING CARDS EXTENDS TO OTHER AREAS OF AMERICAN CULTURAL LIFE.

The ways in which we found that cards are important in American culture do not exhaust the roles they play. Recent research by Karen Fingerman, professor of human development and family studies at Pennsylvania State University, shows that greeting cards play a role in the maintenance of networks of "peripheral" friends among elderly Americans

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[33] Tannen, Deborah You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation. New York: William Morrow (1990).

who are otherwise thought to be involved in shrinking circles of friends and family. Her research on the elderly, not funded by any greeting card company, led her to explore greeting cards as a way of understanding the *non-peripheral nature of so-called peripheral friendships.*[34] According to summaries of her research, greeting cards have an affective role in individual well-being: "Christmas, Hanukkah, and New Year's cards really do make people feel good."[35]

To learn about additional connections between greeting cards and American culture, and to explore the extent to which other Americans outside that small group of shoppers use cards, I devised some survey questions to be used with a wider sample of Americans. I did so with the following theoretical idea in mind: cultures are more or less integrated systems of meaning. This means that any element of a culture can have discoverable links to other arenas of a culture. Rather than just explore what we had learned, we explored other arenas of cultural life and tried to come up with questions about cards in those arenas.

V. A National Survey on the Significance of Greeting Cards

To develop a national survey on the cultural significance of greeting cards, I began by selecting the survey's topics of inquiry that cover the arenas of culture likely affected by greeting cards. To get at a more or less "encyclopedic" description of a culture, anthropologists refer to lists of human cultural traits like Notes and Queries in Anthropology (the original British

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[34] Personal communication. Telephone call to Professor Fingerman, December 11, 1997. Author's notes: 12/11/97, University of Missouri-Kansas City.

encyclopedic list or the more recent Outline of Cultural Materials.[36] These lists provide taxonomies of nearly all the dimensions of human culture—material, technological, social, organizational, and so on—for use in collecting and coding research data about cultures. By scanning these lists, I derived a set of questions that direct attention to several aspects of culture. The list was narrowed to include those dimensions of culture in which it seemed reasonable to expect some role for greeting cards. In this way, the full range of possible connections between greeting cards and American culture was filtered by my own participation in American culture. Because the culture is always moving and changing, neither this list nor any other could ever be exhaustive. Americans, like members of any culture, are always assigning new meanings to objects of material culture. But the questions we used in the national survey tap highly significant dimensions of culture: dealing with life changes such as death and sickness; with religious and secular ritual; and with the ways in which people mark the progress of cultural—and "natural"—seasons.

A. THE SURVEY: A NEW TELEPHONE SURVEY TAPPED WIDER SAMPLE OF AMERICANS.

A telephone survey was used because that was the best way to obtain information quickly from a clearly understood sample of Americans. The text of the survey is included here as GCA-Exh. 2. In this case, I was interested in tapping the range of views about the cultural significance of greeting cards.

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[35] Anonymous. "Business Bulletin: "Seasons Greetings." Wall Street Journal, (December 11, 1997) Page 1.

[36] British Association for the Advancement of Science (1929); Murdock, George P. Outline of Cultural Materials. New Haven, CT: Human Relations Area Files, Inc. (1982).

In practical terms, I sought to discover the extent to which respondents would agree or disagree with statements that reflected greeting cards' cultural significance.[37] The survey is about what people say; it does not tap what they do first hand, the way ethnographic methods do. But it does measure people's expectations about how some categories of greeting cards will be displayed and it uncovers the extent to which Americans agree or disagree about the statements in the survey. The survey offers the possibility of discovering some sub-cultural differences on the multicultural palette that makes up American culture as a whole.

As an anthropologist, I am cautious about using the usual categories which assign people to racial or ethnic groups. Designations such as "Hispanic" or "Black" often hide more information than they reveal. Hispanic, for example, might mean one thing in Miami where most (but not all) Spanish speakers are Cubans and quite another thing in parts of New York City, where most (but not all) Spanish speakers share some Puerto Rican cultural history. Categories like "African-American" and "European-American" also include wide ranging internal diversity. Therefore I employed a strategy known as "theoretical sampling" to capture information about the attitudes of more narrowly defined American minority group attitudes.

My theoretical sample had two parts: a random sampling of telephone numbers drawn nationally (the "General Population" sample) and a purposive sampling of Chicago ethnic neighborhoods (the ethnic sample), within which telephone numbers were called at random. According to Dr. Terry Catlett at Elrick and Lavidge, Inc. (a nationally known survey research firm contracted

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[37] The survey was designed to obtain a sample at the .05 level of confidence, that is, a margin of error of plus or minus five percent with this size sample.

to conduct the survey), the national random dial component (the General Population sample) would be expected to yield a somewhat lower percentage of African-American and Hispanic individuals than are actually present in the U.S. population.[38] I wanted the sample to include the views of Hispanic and African-Americans in an equitable way. The Chicago sample would provide information from neighborhoods that I had visited while I was part of the Ford Foundation study. The Chicago Hispanic neighborhoods include first and second generation people from a variety of different national cultures, and African-Americans there represent a broad range of economic and cultural variation among established-resident African-Americans. The survey thus constructed allows the generation of trustworthy generalizations about ethnic populations like those found in Chicago's north and west-side Hispanic and African-American neighborhoods. It also allows trustworthy statements to be made about the cultural significance of greeting cards among European-Americans generally.[39]

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[38] In fact, the General Population sample, drawn from a random selection of residential telephone numbers in the continental United States, drew eleven percent of its total from African-Americans, six percent of its total from Hispanic-Americans, and three percent of its total from "Native Americans." The latter category is traditionally a source of considerable confusion, as any American born in the U.S. could consider herself or himself a "Native American," rather than an American Indian to which the term actually refers.

[39] There is considerable variation within all these groups, even in Chicago, but the present purpose is to explore the range of variation across what is for Americans a culturally significant dimension of difference: the difference between so-called mainstream and so-called minority-group Americans.

The telephone survey was conducted by Elrick and Lavadge by their telephone researchers in Chicago. The survey did not record the telephone number or location of respondents in order to respect the confidentiality of their responses.

B. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE: THE SURVEY INCLUDED AFRICAN-AMERICANS, HISPANIC-AMERICANS, AND A RANGE OF INCOME GROUPS.

The responses are shown in the data tables from the survey, included here as GCA-Exh. 2. Age was fairly normally distributed in the sample (see GCA-Exh. 2). Respondents were asked first for their age category; those under 18 were thanked and they were not interviewed further. Income in the sample reflected a range of income groups among each ethnic group, also shown in the data in GCA-Exh. 2.

The sample does not exactly mirror the shape of the U.S. ethnic, economic, or gender landscape. Indeed no survey could do this because American demographics are a moving target. But this sample does encompass significant ethnic and income diversity among American men and women.

C. THE SURVEY: QUESTIONS FOCUSED ON THE IMPORTANCE OF GREETING CARDS TO RECIPIENTS AND EXPECTATIONS ABOUT HOW CARDS WOULD BE DISPLAYED.

The survey tapped the cultural significance of the following statements which were read to respondents. The percentage of the entire sample in strong agreement or in agreement (who responded with a "five" or a "four") is listed in parenthesis after each question

1. Greeting cards that come in the mail help me celebrate holidays and special occasions (72%).
2. Greeting cards that come in the mail help me hear things others might be reluctant to say in person (48%).
3. Greeting cards that come in the mail help me know that others are thinking of me in a time of illness (77%).
4. Greeting cards that come in the mail help me know that others are thinking of me in a time of mourning (77%).
5. Greeting cards that come in the mail help me appreciate artwork and photography (49%).
6. Greeting cards that come in the mail help me know that others are praying for me (63%).
7. Greeting cards that come in the mail help me maintain family traditions (60%).
8. Greeting cards that come in the mail help me share a good laugh with others they show the card to (72%).
8. Greeting cards that come in the mail help me celebrate religious holidays and traditions (57%).
9. Greeting cards that come in the mail help me participate in and know the changing seasons of the year (37%).
10. People expect that when their mother is a recipient of a Mother's Day card, she will put it on display for others to see (68%).
11. When I receive a Valentine's Day card in the mail, I put them on display for others to see (57%).
11. When I receive a birthday card in the mail, I put them on display for others to see (67%).

D. THE SURVEY RESULTS: THE SURVEY SHOWS THAT GREETING CARDS APPEAR TO BE ESPECIALLY SIGNIFICANT FOR SOME GROUPS AND THE CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF GREETING CARDS IS SUPPORTED.

The survey results for each question are discussed below with regard to results for the entire sample, for ethnic differences, age differences, and economic differences. Taken together, they point to overall patterns in the way Americans use greeting cards. They also suggest ethnic or sub-cultural differences that will need to be explored further.

Holidays and Special Occasions. Seventy-two percent of the combined General Population and Ethnic neighborhood sample placed their level of agreement at a four or a five on the five point scale when read the statement, "Greeting cards that come in the mail help me celebrate holidays and special occasions." African-Americans in either sample were slightly weaker in their overall agreement, but nearly equal numbers of African-Americans and European-Americans strongly agreed with the statement. Even the small sample of Hispanic-Americans showed a similar level of agreement or strong agreement: sixty-eight percent.

Middle-aged Americans agreed with this statement more strongly than did younger Americans by thirteen percentage points: a statistically significant margin ($p<.05$). This suggests that busy, mobile heads of household who are more likely members of this group, find greeting cards important during holidays or special occasions. It may be that the pattern in the response among older Americans, which showed the highest percentage of all groups in strong disagreement with this statement (twelve percent versus eight percent for younger and middle-aged Americans), consider other means of celebration more salient.

Income presented a pattern that held true across nearly all the questions: people in the upper third income group, those earning more than $40,000 per year, were not as ready to agree with the statements as were respondents from lower income groups. Seventy-six percent of all middle-income respondents (earning $20,000 to $40,000 per year), and seventy-four percent of low-income respondents (earning under $20,000 per year) agreed with the statement about the importance of greeting cards in celebrating holidays and special occasions. The difference between these latter two is statistically insignificant when calculated within this response but it is part of a repeated pattern among the wider pattern of responses.

Holidays and celebrations are part of what most people view as American Culture: Halloween, Thanksgiving, Hanukkah, and Christmas often include the exchange of greeting cards. Americans by and large agree that greeting cards help them celebrate these occasions.

Hearing What Others are Unwilling to Say. Greeting cards are only somewhat likely to be seen as helpful to let recipients know things that others "might be reluctant to say to [them] in person." But a near majority of Americans in the General Population and in the Ethnic Neighborhood samples reported they agreed with the statement: "Greeting cards that come in the mail help me to hear things that others might be reluctant to say to me in person."

It may be that there is higher agreement than the question suggests. For many Americans, and perhaps more often for African-Americans, the phrase "I hear you" is a metaphor for "I understand you." The question was intended to mean "help me know and understand what others may be unwilling to say out loud." A more literal reading of the question might result in respondents wondering how a card helps you "hear" something when you

read it.[40] Indeed, fifty-seven percent of African-Americans agreed or strongly agreed with this statement. European-Americans (forty-six percent agreement or strong agreement) and Hispanic-Americans (forty-four percent agreement or strong agreement) were less inclined to agree.

Income seemed to have only a slight influence on this question, but high-income respondents were slightly less likely to agree with the statement.

Knowing that Others Care in Time of Sickness. The response to this question suggested that even more cultural importance is placed on greeting cards that, when received in the mail, tell the recipient that they are being thought of when they are ill. There are statistically significant (<.05) ethnic differences here: African-Americans are more inclined to agree with this statement (88 percent) than are European-Americans (76 percent), Hispanic-Americans (64 percent), or others (68 percent).[41] This time, older people were more likely to agree with this statement (80 percent); other groups less so (among those age18-34, 73 percent; among those age 35-54, 77 percent). The significance of greeting cards increases with the age of the American. The income relationship suggested above holds true: lower-income people (86 percent) and middle-income people (83 percent) are more likely to agree with the statement than are higher-income people (68 percent). This pattern

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[40] According to the sociolinguist Shirley Bryce Heath, more literal interpretations characterize many European-American speech communities while more metaphoric speech patterns tend to characterize many African American speech communities. See Heath, Shirley Ways With Words. New York: Cambridge University Press (1983).

[41] Reasons for this difference are presently unclear; the results hint at a subcultural difference regarding higher involvement by family and friends in expressions of care during illness among African-Americans.

is statistically significant. The reasons for this pattern are not quite clear, but the lower an American's income, the more often he or she agreed that get-well cards helped them know others were thinking about them. Interpersonal expressions of care and concern during illness may be more important to the elderly and to lower-income groups.

Knowing Others Are Thinking of Me in a Time of Mourning. Mourning and sickness are similar in many ways: one signals a potential loss, and one participates in an actual loss. There is agreement on this issue and interestingly it shows the same pattern of response as does the question about illness. African-Americans are more in agreement with the statement as are lower-income and older persons. The reasons for the pattern must be connected. The fact that the pattern is repeated further suggests the presence of a set of sub-cultural patterns that connect interpersonal expressions of care and concern to the life course (aging), to economic status (income), and to ethnic background.

Greeting Cards Help Me Appreciate Art and Photography. These aspects of popular culture are wrapped up in greeting cards, and nearly half of all respondents agreed with the statement. There was no statistically significant difference in the response among ethnic or age groups. But there was a significant relationship to income. Both lower and middle-income groups were more likely to agree (53 and 55 percent, respectively). Their level of agreement was significantly different (<.05) than the 39 percent agreement among higher-income groups. Perhaps access to art and photography are, for higher-income Americans, provided by material culture other than greeting cards. Art and photography in greeting cards is accessible to lower and middle-income respondents while "fine" art may not be. This suggests a very familiar relationship between economic status and

cultural ideas of "good taste" that go along with upper-income groups in most cultures.[42]

Greeting Cards Help Me Know Others Pray For Me. Another significant difference emerges here among American ethnic and age groups. While only 63 percent of the general population agreed with the statement, 78 percent of African-Americans agreed. There was little statistically significant variation among income groups (though the pattern of lower and middle-income groups agreeing more was apparent), but both middle-aged and older Americans were significantly different in their responses from younger Americans: from youngest to oldest, those agreeing or strongly agreeing in each group represented 53, 65 and 70 percent of the total in each group. There may be a major cultural shift occurring, or there may be new ways in which spirituality and prayer is expressed among younger Americans. Conversely, these data may indicate a developmental difference: it seems likely that as life runs its course, more Americans are engaged in spiritual pursuits.[43]

Greeting Cards Help Maintain Family Traditions. There is little disagreement in the sample about this point. Only younger Americans are significantly less likely to disagree with this statement. This is understandable with reference to the life-course. Older Americans are the active ones in recreating cultural traditions. The pattern from old to young is

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[42] The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has explored this issue in his book, Distinction: A Social Critique of Judgement. Richard Nice, trans. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press (1984).

[43] See Robert Bellah, Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life, Berkeley: University of California Press

clear: the percentage in agreement declines with age from 67, to 62, to 49 percent. The difference between the youngest age group and the other groups is statistically significant and the connection to cultural values and world view should be clear.

Greeting Cards Help Me Share a Good Laugh. Laughter—what is funny—is tightly bound with languaculture. Laughter at a joke comes when two people share enough cultural context or background knowledge to perceive an incongruity, an unexpected pattern, a rule breaking, or a hyperbolic statement. All of these are highly culturally specific. Not getting the joke is a signal of cultural incompetence. When someone does not laugh at the joke because it is not perceived as politically compassionate, not laughing signals non-membership in the community of persons who *do* laugh at the joke. Humor is among the better markers of cultural in- or out-group status. It is among the top three questions in this survey with which Americans tend to agree.

Interestingly, there are no statistically significant differences among groups of respondents to this question. Everyone agrees, more or less, that greeting cards that come in the mail can help share a laugh with people to whom the card is shown. This suggests how cards containing funny text or pictures are part of the cultural give-and-take that reaffirms shared knowledge about cultural norms within American culture and American sub-cultures. There are patterns, however, among these data that suggest some age differences.

Middle-aged Americans are somewhat more likely to agree than older Americans, and both are more likely to agree than the youngest group.

(1985) for a discussion of the complexity of American spirituality that supports this point.

(From oldest to youngest, 72, 76, and 68 percent agreed or strongly agreed with the statement.) Youth often are on the cutting edge of shifts in meaning that are the turning point of many jokes. It seems sensible that young people would not agree as much with this statement. It seems quite likely that mass-marketed greeting cards often will not be on the cutting edge of what is funny "on the street" among young people who, in our culture as well as in others, are adept at challenging cultural norms and reshaping cultural values.

Greeting Cards Help Celebrate Religious Holidays. Religious traditions are associated with greeting cards for a majority of older and middle-aged Americans (66 and 61 percent, respectively, agreed or strongly agreed). While there are a range of views on this point in our survey, and while a number responded with a "three" (not agreeing or disagreeing), few disagreed or strongly disagreed.

Income made a difference in the responses to this statement. Those in the higher income bracket were just about as likely to disagree or have no feelings about how greeting cards help in the celebration of religious traditions. Sixty-two and 61 percent of middle and lower-income Americans in the sample agreed or strongly agreed that greeting cards that come in the mail help them celebrate religious holidays and traditions.

Religion is connected with any cultural group's conception of its place in the universe, with the nature of the universe generally, and with the expression of cultural values about the supernatural in particular. Therefore, this question reveals how greeting cards are a part of American religious holidays and traditions for most Americans, though less so for higher-income Americans.

Greeting Cards Help Me Participate in Changing Seasons. This question was designed to tap the ways American culture marks the seasons

of the year. The changing seasons are linked to important rituals featured in many cultures. Different parts of the U.S. have very different climatic changes, but American culture puts a great deal of emphasis on colorful autumns, white Christmases, and sunny summers, whether in Southern California, Florida or New York State. Yet, only thirty-seven percent of the entire sample agreed with the statement. Older Americans, for whom family traditions are more important, were significantly more likely to agree (43 percent) than were younger Americans. While only 34 percent of European-Americans agreed, 49 percent of African-Americans and 40 percent of Hispanic-Americans agreed or strongly agreed with the statement.

I Expect Mother's Day Cards to be Displayed. Most Americans of all groups expect that Mother's Day cards will be displayed. In a reversal of other responses, older Americans, who are of course less likely to give Mother's day cards to their own mothers, were less likely to agree. In fact, this is one of the few statements that younger Americans agreed with more often. Fully 75 percent of younger Americans agreed or strongly agreed with the statement. There were no significant differences among ethnic or income groups on this question.

The display of greeting cards offers strong support for their cultural significance. The fact that younger Americans participate in this aspect of greeting card exchange points to the enduring, trans-individual nature of American culture generally and greeting cards in particular. It points to shared elements of American culture across sub-cultural or ethnic groups: Hispanic-Americans and African-Americans in the sample are as likely as other Americans to expect their mothers to display the card they send them in the mail.

Material culture that is on display is put there for a reason—in this case, the display of Mother's Day cards is an American cultural display about values surrounding motherhood.

Valentine's Day Cards on Display. Fewer Americans display the Valentine's Day cards that come in the mail. Older Americans are significantly more likely to display their cards than any other grouping: 68 percent agree or strongly agree. Valentine's Day cards may be less intended for public display, more one-to-one, than other categories of greeting cards. This fact by itself reflects American conceptions of intimacy and love. Marriages in America, unlike many places in the world, are not based on economic or social alliances as much as they are based on interpersonal affection. This difference reflects American cultural values surrounding romantic love.

Birthday Cards Are Put on Display. Birthday cards that come in the mail are more likely than Valentine's Day cards to be displayed. This is much less true for Hispanic-Americans in this sample, and quite a bit more true for African- and European-Americans. It is much more true for older and middle-aged Americans than for younger Americans. And it is more true for middle-income Americans than for those with fewer or greater economic resources (lower-income Americans agreed or strongly agreed at 68 percent; middle-income Americans at 73 percent; the higher-income group at 61 percent).

VI. Summary and Conclusions

Greeting cards are tied to American cultural experience as expressions of relationships, as markers of ceremonial occasions, and as cultural actors in the reproduction and display of American cultural values in the images and text that they contain.

A. Potential Cultural Impact of Higher First-Class Rates: A Smaller Volume of Greeting Cards in the Mailstream Would Have Negative Cultural Consequences

While I cannot comment on the degree of change in greeting card use that would arise as a result of increases in first-class postage, I can comment on the cultural significance of a reduction in the number of greeting cards in the mailstream. The survey demonstrates that for low-income persons, greeting cards are a highly salient means of cultural expression. They are especially important during some of the most important—and emotionally taxing—moments in American life: illness, death, and growing older. Older Americans have been shown by independent research to gain positive emotional support from greeting cards.[44] In the national survey data, older Americans feel that greeting cards are culturally significant along several dimensions.

Both senders and receivers participate in core cultural beliefs and values through the sending and receiving of greeting cards. Changing—or enduring—relationships among families and friends are made visible in the display of cards; the selection and receipt of cards is laden with emotional and cultural baggage. Unlike gifts of a more general kind, greeting cards are intended to carry and transmit highly specific meanings—meanings linked to individual, family, and group experience, meanings represented in culturally patterned ways of expressing ideas through graphic art and through text. Any action that the Postal Service takes that reduces American ability to engage in greeting card exchange will have a negative impact on individual and group participation in the production, reproduction, and reshaping of these cultural forms of interpersonal and intergroup expression. Fewer cards

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[44] Fingerman, ibid.

to send or receive means fewer moments of participation in shared feelings, felt togetherness, and felt belonging. Any such reduction in greeting card use would measurably lessen the feeling of community that may be at the very heart of our collective sense of national belonging.

B. GREETING CARDS BIND THE NATION TOGETHER: AS PART OF THE MAILSTREAM, GREETING CARDS LINK FAMILY AND FRIENDS IN SHARED CULTURAL MEANINGS THAT REFLECT AND EVEN SHAPE AMERICAN CULTURE.

Historically, the national post has been viewed as a force to bind the nation together: this is among the concerns that should arise in considering postal rate increases. The importance of greeting cards for binding the nation together can be seen in the survey research, in the ethnographic research among card shoppers, and through well-established anthropological understandings of the nature and meaning of interpersonal and intergroup exchange. Humor is perhaps the most obvious example.

Humor is not comprehensible as humor without a shared understanding of cultural context. The "point" of a joke is set in cultural expectations about beliefs, behavior, and tradition. The survey has demonstrated that greeting cards help people "share a good laugh." When greeting cards act in relationships in a humorous way, they signal shared expectations, shared values, and common perceptions about the trajectory of American culture. The fact that Americans "get the joke" when a mass-produced product reaches them demonstrates the shared experience in which Americans participate as members of American linguistic and cultural groups.

Humorous greeting cards—inscribed physically with an address on the outside and a signature or note on the inside, and inscribed culturally with shared understandings about the topic of the humorous card—bind the nation together by reproducing the cultural patterns that underlie humor. Anyone who has ever experienced an American workplace has shared the joke with a card recipient in a neighboring work-space; anyone who has ever read the funny papers (or heard them read as a child) has participated in the recognition of shared cultural meanings through shared, audible laughter.

Aside from the core cultural meanings encoded in humor, greeting cards bind the nation together in the public display of artistic and textual messages about key life events: birth, death, illness, and seasonal celebrations. We all see greeting cards in our friends' homes, on their refrigerators, or even cut up into ornaments and displayed. The extent to which these cultural practices are evident in American daily life reflects the cultural importance of greeting cards. The continued presence of greeting cards in American culture despite the availability of the telephone (and, to a lesser extent, computer e-mail) indicates that their role extends far beyond simple one-to-one communication. Greeting cards are American ritual objects, connected as all such objects are to the culture in which they continue to evolve. Any disconnect between Americans and greeting cards would fray part of the fabric that binds the national community—our imagined community—together.

C. The Cultural Value of Greeting Cards: Greeting cards are intimately linked with American expressions of relationships

When Americans were asked in the survey about what greeting cards do for them, they responded that greeting cards are especially important in

times of illness and mourning. The next highest level of agreement was about "sharing a good laugh" through a greeting card that comes in the mail. Laughter is part of languaculture; the findings about humor point to the importance of greeting cards in the public display and reproduction of the cultural patterns that engender humor—deep patterns that are linked to in-group status and to American notions of well-being.

We discovered interesting ethnic and income differences in the survey responses. African-Americans seem to attach more importance to most greeting cards at all levels than do other groups. Greeting cards sent through the mail are especially important to the low and middle-income groups in the sample. These data point to potential differential effects of postal rates regarding the importance of greeting cards. Greeting cards are more culturally salient, more important in their connection to languaculture, cultural values, and world view among lower and moderate-income persons. They would be affected more by increases in postal rates than their position on the economic scale suggests because they place greater cultural value on greeting cards.

Greeting cards are significant elements in American material and symbolic culture. Postal ratemaking policy making that aims to consider the impact of first-class rate increases upon American culture should recognize the ways in which greeting cards connect with cultural values, languaculture, and world view. Such consideration also must take into account the ways in which American ethnic groups and income groups show variation in the cultural significance of greeting cards. Greeting cards, while deeply embedded in expectations surrounding key life events and ceremonies for all Americans, appear to be even more culturally salient for African-Americans and for low and middle-income Americans. Changes in postal rates that

affect the mailing of greeting cards may therefore impact lower and middle-income persons and African-Americans more than the population as a whole.

For several categories of cultural significance—illness, mourning, sharing a good laugh, and celebrating Mother's Day—Americans of all kinds share a high level of cultural involvement with greeting cards. Indeed, an important material and symbolic means of displaying and reproducing American cultural values, languaculture, and world view is potentially affected by any Commission action that would impact sending greeting cards through the mail.

Exh. GSA-1

Curriculum Vitae

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Education

Ph.D. Anthropology, University of Kansas, 1995.
M.A. Anthropology, University of Wyoming, 1984.
B.A. Anthropology, *cum laude*, Washington State University, 1976.

Professional Experience

Research Associate Professor, University of Missouri—Kansas City. 1996 to Present.
Senior Research Associate, LTG Associates, Turlock, CA and Tacoma Park, MD. 1992 to present.
Senior Research Associate, Research and Training Associates, Overland Park, KS. 1995.
Program Coordinator, Kansas Department of Education. 1994 to 1995.
Education Program Consultant, Kansas Department of Education. 1990 to 1994.
Social Services Administrator, Kansas SRS. 1983 to 1990.
Broadcaster; Program Director, Station Manager, WDLW, KBUF, KANZ. 1980 to 1983.
Graduate Research Fellow, Anthropology. Brandeis University. 1980.

Selected Publications

1998 (in preparation) Talking About Meat: How Immigrant Meat Packers and Supervisors Communicate. Paper presented at the session on Changing Ecologies of Technical Work Practice and the Ethnographic Stance at The International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA (July).

1998 (in preparation) Teamwork and Collaboration. Paper presented at the session on Doing Team Ethnography at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, San Juan, Puerto Rico (April).

1998 (in preparation) "I Just Put My Boyfriend In the Trunk": Performing Gender in High Plains Packinghouse Towns. Paper presented at the session on Garden City: Ten Year Retrospective at the Central States Anthropological Association Meetings, Kansas City, MO (April).

1998 (in preparation) Making Meat in Three Cultures: Industrial Slaughter on the US High Plains. In Dead or Alive: Animal Captives of Human Cultures. Bill Jordan, Editor. Princeton, NJ: Shelby Cullom Davis Center and Princeton University Press.
1997 (with Don Stull) Doing Team Ethnography: Warnings and Advice. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

1996 Muscle and Meat: Rewriting a Story of Progress. In The Story of Progress. Gösta Arvastson, Ed. Studiua Upsalensis No. 17. Uppsala, Sweden: Acta Universitatis Upasliensis

1996 (with Don. Stull) Management and Multiculturalism. Meat&Poultry; 42(4):44-50.

1994 Guys in White Hats: Short-Term Participant Observation Among Workers and Managers. In Newcomers in the Workplace: Immigration and the Restructuring of the US Economy. L. Lamphere, Ed., Pp. 78-98. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

1994 The Anthropologist as Radio Producer. In Media Anthropology. S. Allen, Ed., Pp. 145-160. New York: Avondale.

1993 (with D. Stull and M. Broadway) The Price of a Good Steak. In Structuring Diversity: Ethnographic Perspectives on the New Immigration. Louise Lamphere, Ed., Pp. 35-64. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1990 (with Stull, Donald D., J. Benson, M. Broadway, M. Grey and A. Campa) Changing Relations: Newcomers and Established Residents in Garden City, KS. Final report to the Ford Foundation. Lawrence, KS: Institute for Public Policy and Business Research. Report No. 172.

1990 New Immigrants and the Social Service Agency: Changing Relations at SRS. Urban Anthropology 19(4):387-407.

Selected Unpublished Papers And Presentations

Crossing Ritual Borders: Cultural Change in Celebrations and Gift Giving. Presentation for Hallmark continuing education program. 1997.

That Mom/Mother Thing: Invited lecture; Hallmark Creative Advisory Group. 1997.

Making Meat Among Mexican, Southeast Asians, and Anglos: Industrial Slaughter On the High Plains. Invited paper presented to the Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ. 1997

Culture Against Knowledge: Power at the Center Applied at the Margins. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Society for Applied Anthropology, Baltimore, MD. 1995.

Literature Review: Bi/multilingual Service Delivery in Community and Migrant Health Clinics. Paper prepared for the US Department of Health and Human Services and LTG Associates. 1995.

Language, Culture, and Disability. Keynote address. Midwest Association for Behavior Disorders. Kansas City, MO. 1994.

Lao Classroom Discourse: Audio from Kansas, Video from Thailand. Paper presented at the Illinois Statewide Conference for Teachers of Linguistically and Culturally Diverse Students, Chicago, IL 1994.

What Social Workers Don't Know can be Fatal: Appropriate Cross-cultural Human Services Delivery to New Immigrants in Kansas. Invited Workshop. Governor's Conference on Human Services, Topeka, KS. 1993.

Native Language and Literacy: What is Reading? Southwest Regional Adult Educator's Conference, Dodge City, KS. 1992.

Language and Cultural Diversity. Topeka USD 500. Topeka, KS. 1992.

Language Proficiencies

- Spanish; fluent speaking, reading, and writing
- Vietnamese; good speaking, some reading and writing
- Swedish; some speaking, reading, and writing
- French; fair speaking and reading
- Lao; some speaking
- Wind River Shoshone, Tetela (West African Bantu); some linguistic ethnography.

Selected Recent Grants and Consulting

Uinta County Futures Assessment. Uinta County, Wyoming Planning Group. 1998.

Hallmark Business Research Mother's Day Project. Hallmark Cards, Inc. 1997.

Assessment of HIV Risk Among Mexican Immigrant Men in Southwest Kansas. Kansas Department of Health and Environment, Winter 1998.

Enhancing the Capacity of SAVE, Inc. [HIV+/PLWA Housing in Kansas City, MO] Spring and Summer, 1997.

Public Housing Resident's Council Project. Economic Development needs assessment and technical assistance. 1996-1997.

1996 Single Women's Strengths: Life Histories of Lincoln Garden's Residents. UMKC Faculty Research Grant. (With Professor Kristin Esterberg; Fall, 1996.

Anti-Gang Project Evaluation. (With Professors Max Skidmore and Doug Perez; Fall 1996 and Winter, 1997)

University Courses Taught

Undergraduate Sociological Research Methods.
Graduate Sociological Research: Qualitative Methods
Talk Like an American: Sociolinguistics and American Speech.
Cultural Issues in Schooling.
Introduction to Linguistics.
Second Language Acquisition for Teachers.

Professional Memberships

Fellow, American Anthropological Association.
Treasurer, National Association for the Practice of Anthropology.
Member, Society for Applied Anthropology
Member, Society for Linguistic Anthropology
Member, Council on Anthropology and Education

Exh. GSA-2

Age, Ethnicity, and Income; Text of the Survey

Age		Quota Group			Age			Gender		Income			Ethnicity			
	Total	GENRL POPLN	AFRCN AMER.	HISPN/ LATIN	18-35	35-54	55+	MALE	FE-MALE	<$20K	$20K-$40K	>$40K	WHITE	AFRCN. AMER.	HISPN/ LATN	OTHER
	400	320	40	40	113	165	122	151	249	88	109	142	256	81	25	38
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Under 18	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
18 to 24	41	31	5	5	41			22	19	16	11	11	23	6	8	4
	10%	10%	13%	13%	36%			15%	8%	18%	10%	8%	9%	7%	32%	11%
25 to 34	72	57	6	9	72			28	44	9	20	29	49	14	4	5
	18%	18%	15%	23%	64%			19%	18%	10%	18%	20%	19%	17%	16%	13%
35 to 44	97	75	9	13		97		33	64	17	20	47	58	21	9	9
	24%	23%	23%	33%		59%		22%	26%	19%	18%	33%	23%	26%	36%	24%
45 to 54	68	57	9	2		68		23	45	11	20	27	37	18	3	10
	17%	18%	23%	5%		41%		15%	18%	13%	18%	19%	14%	22%	12%	26%
55 to 64	48	39	6	3			48	21	27	13	14	13	33	11	1	3
	12%	12%	15%	8%			39%	14%	11%	15%	13%	9%	13%	14%	4%	8%
65 and Older	74	61	5	8			74	24	50	22	24	15	560	11		7
	19%	19%	13%	20%			61%	16%	20%	25%	22%	11%	219%	14%		18%
Refused	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Age		Quota Group			Age			Gender		Income			Ethnicity			
	Total	GENRL POPLN	AFRCN AMER.	HISPN/ LATIN	18-35	35-54	55+	MALE	FE-MALE	<$20K	$20K-$40K	>$40K	WHITE	AFRCN. AMER.	HISPN/ LATN	OTHER
	400	320	40	40	113	165	122	151	249	88	109	142	256	81	25	38
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Under 18	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
18 to 24	41	31	5	5	41			22	19	16	11	11	23	6	8	4
	10%	10%	13%	13%	36%			15%	8%	18%	10%	8%	9%	7%	32%	11%
25 to 34	72	57	6	9	72			28	44	9	20	29	49	14	4	5
	18%	18%	15%	23%	64%			19%	18%	10%	18%	20%	19%	17%	16%	13%
35 to 44	97	75	9	13		97		33	64	17	20	47	58	21	9	9
	24%	23%	23%	33%		59%		22%	26%	19%	18%	33%	23%	26%	36%	24%
45 to 54	68	57	9	2		68		23	45	11	20	27	37	18	3	10
	17%	18%	23%	5%		41%		15%	18%	13%	18%	19%	14%	22%	12%	26%
55 to 64	48	39	6	3			48	21	27	13	14	13	33	11	1	3
	12%	12%	15%	8%			39%	14%	11%	15%	13%	9%	13%	14%	4%	8%
65 and Older	74	61	5	8			74	24	50	22	24	15	560	11		7
	19%	19%	13%	20%			61%	16%	20%	25%	22%	11%	219%	14%		18%
Refused	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Household Income

		Quota Group			Age			Gender		Income			Ethnicity			
	Total	GENRL POPLN	AFRCN AMER.	HISPN/ LATIN	18-35	35-54	55+	MALE	FE-MALE	<$20K	$20K-$40K	>$40K	WHITE	AFRCN. AMER.	HISPN/ LATN	OTHER
	400	320	40	40	113	165	122	151	249	109	81	142	256	81	25	38
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Under $20 Thousand	88	66	17	8	25	28	35	25	63	88			54	23	6	5
	22%	21%	43%	20%	22%	17%	29%	17%	25%	81%			21%	28%	24%	13%
Under $30 Thousand	54	45	3	6	14	16	24	19	35		54		30	17	3	4
	14%	14%	8%	15%	12%	10%	20%	13%	14%		67%		12%	21%	12%	11%
Under $40 Thousand	55	42	6	7	17	24	14	14	4		55		35	11	5	4
	14%	13%	15%	18%	15%	15%	11%	9%	2%		68%		14%	14%	20%	11%
Under $50 Thousand	41	29	5	7	17	17	7	21	20			41	29	6	5	1
	10%	9%	13%	18%	15%	10%	6%	14%	8%			29%	11%	7%	20%	3%
Under $60 Thousand	28	22	4	2	8	12	8	12	16			28	19	4	2	3
	7%	7%	10%	5%	7%	7%	7%	8%	6%			20%	7%	5%	8%	8%
Under $70 Thousand	17	13	2	2	3	11	3	7	10			17	11	5	1	
	4%	4%	5%	5%	3%	7%	2%	5%	4%			12%	4%	6%	4%	
$70,000 or More	56	49	3	4	12	34	10	29	274			56	40	7	2	7
	14%	15%	8%	10%	11%	21%	8%	19%	110%			39%	16%	9%	8%	18%
Refused	61	54	3	4	17	23	21	24	37				38	8	1	14
	15%	17%	8%	10%	15%	14%	17%	16%	15%				15%	10%	4%	37%

Cultural Significance of Greeting Cards Survey
October, 1997

National Sample (320)
Hispanic / Latino Areas (40)
African-American Areas (40)

Hello, this is _____ from Elrick & Lavidge, a national opinion firm. Today/tonight we are conducting a brief survey and we'd like to include the opinions of someone in your household. I assure you, we are not selling anything and are only interested in your opinions. Your input will be strictly confidential and very valuable in these efforts. The survey will take only five minutes.

1. In which of the following categories does your age fall? [READ]

   1 Under 18 [THANK AND TERMINATE]
   2 18 to 24
   3 25 to 34
   4 35 to 44
   5 45 to 54
   6 55 to 64
   7 65 and older
   8 [DO NOT READ] Refused [THANK AND TERMINATE]

2. I am going to read you some statements that can be used to describe your attitudes about greeting cards. Using a scale where 5 means "strongly agree" and 1 means "strongly disagree," please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each statement. You may use any number between 1 and 5. [ROTATE]

	Strongly Agree				Strongly Disagree	DK/ R
Greeting cards that come in the mail help me celebrate holidays and special occasions.	5	4	3	2	1	0
Greeting cards that come in the mail help me to hear things that others might be reluctant to say to me in person.	5	4	3	2	1	0
Greeting cards that come in the mail help me know that others are thinking of me in a time of sickness.	5	4	3	2	1	0
Greeting cards that come in the mail help me know that others are thinking of me in a time of mourning.	5	4	3	2	1	0
Greeting cards that come in the mail help me appreciate artwork and photography.	5	4	3	2	1	0

	Strongly Agree				Strongly Disagree	DK/ R
Greeting cards that come in the mail let me know that others are praying for me.	5	4	3	2	1	0
Greeting cards that come in the mail help me maintain family traditions.	5	4	3	2	1	0
Greeting cards that come in the mail help me share a good laugh with others I show the card to.	5	4	3	2	1	0
Greeting cards that come in the mail help me celebrate religious holidays and traditions.	5	4	3	2	1	0
Greeting cards that come in the mail help me participate in and know the changing of the seasons through the year.	5	4	3	2	1	0
When my mother receives a mother's day card in the mail, she puts it on display for others to see.	5	4	3	2	1	0
When I receive a Valentine's Day card in the mail, I put it on display for others to see.	5	4	3	2	1	0
When I receive a birthday card in the mail, I put it on display for others to see.	5	4	3	2	1	0

3. The last few questions are for classification purposes only. Please stop me when I read the category that contains your total household income before taxes. [READ]

   1 Under $20 thousand
   2 Under $30 thousand
   3 Under $40 thousand
   4 Under $50 thousand
   5 Under $60 thousand
   6 Under $70 thousand
   7 Or $70 thousand or more
   8 [DO NOT READ] Refused

4. Are you? [READ]

   1 White or Caucasian
   2 African-American
   3 Asian-American
   4 Hispanic or Latino
   5 Native American
   6 Or, Another Race
   7 [DO NOT READ] Refused

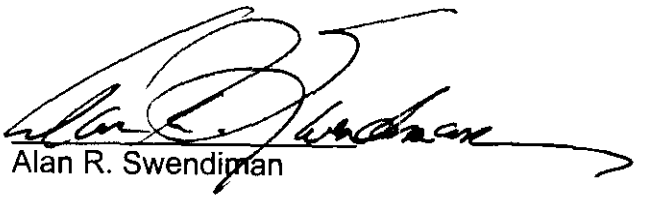
5. [PLEASE RECORD GENDER OF RESPONDENT. DO NOT READ.]

1 Male
2 Female

Thank you for participating in our survey. Your opinions count.

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that I have this day served the foregoing document upon all participants of record in this proceeding on this date in accordance with Section 12 of the rules of Practice and procedure.



Alan R. Swendiman

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Dated: December 30, 1997